

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 4930

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (CHRISTOPER, WARREN) MASS PORG ENRG PDIP YO US
SUBJECT: DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S MEETINGS WITH YUGOSLAVS

1. SUMMARY. DURING TALKS WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC AND DEPUTY SECRETARY MOJSOV TOGETHER AND WITH MOJSOV SEPARATELY, FOLLOWING ISSUES COVERED: DIVERSION OF M-47 TANKS TO ETHIOPIA, YUGOSLAV EMIGRE TERRORISM IN U.S., OVERALL STATE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS, POSSIBLE MEETING OF PRESIDENTS TITO AND CARTER, NEXT STEPS ON NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION AND KRSKO, AND VARIETY OF MUTLILATERAL ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. TANK DIVERSION. AT OUTSET OF MEETING WITH MINIC, DEPUTY SECRETARY RAISED TANK DIVERSION STRESSING THAT WE CONSIDER THIS A SERIOUS MATTER AS IT INVOLVES AGREEMENTS IN WHICH WE SET GREAT STORE. WE ARE LEGALLY REQUIRED TO INFORM CONGRESS OF THE DIVERSION. ALTHOUGH WE VIEW TYP VIOLATION OF OUR AGREEMENTS WITH GRAVITY, USG DESIRES TO HANDLE ISSUE IN A WAY THAT MINIMIZES ADVERSE IMPACT AND CONSEQUENCES ON OUR RELATIONS. TO THAT END WE ARE REPORTING DIVERSION TO CONGRESS ON A CLASSIFIED BASIS. WHILE WE HOPE MATTER WILL REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL, WE CANNOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY OF A LEAK. WE PREPARED TO SEND TEAM OF EXPERTS HERE ON
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URGENT BASIS TO DISCUSS WAYS TO HANDLE DISPOSITION OF OBSOLETE US-SUPPLIED MILITARY EQUIPMENT WITHIN TERMS OF AGREEMENTS. WE CONTINUE TO REGARD AGREEMENTS THEMSELVES AS REMAINING IN FORCE. ON MARK-44 TORPEDO, IT IS OUR DESIRE TO POSTPONE VISIT TO U.S. OF TECHNICAL TEAM UNTIL SEPTEMBER TO ALLOW TIME FOR DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN EXPERTS ON DISPOSITION OF EQUIPMENT, AND TO LET DUST

SETTLE. WE REASSURED BY MINIC STATEMENT TO EAGLEBURGER THAT VIOLATION OF AGREEMENTS WILL NOT RECUR, AND ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO IT. WE ATTEMPTING TO HANDLE PROBLEM WITH RESTRAINT, NOT BECAUSE WE DO NOT CONSIDER IT A VERY SERIOUS MATTER -- AS WE DO -- BUT BECAUSE WE SET GREAT STORE BY OUR RELATIONSHIP. WANT TO PUT PROBLEM BEHIND US, BUT THIS WILL DEPEND IN PART UPON WHETHER IT REMAINS CONFIDENTIAL.

3. MINIC RESPONDED THAT HE PRESUMED AMBASSADOR EAGLEBURGER HAD CORRECTLY AND PRECISELY TRANSMITTED SUBSTANCE OF THEIR CONVERSATIONS AND HAD NOTHING MORE TO ADD. THIS IS TYPICAL CASE OF OLD AGREEMENT WHICH BY ELAPSING TIME HAS BEEN ERODED, NOT AT THE LEVEL OF THE GOVERNMENT, BUT AT THE LEVEL OF THOSE EXPECTED TO CARRY IT OUT. GOY HAD PROPOSED TO ELLSWORTH THAT EXPERTS MEET, REVIEW AGREEMENTS, DISCUSS WHAT NO LONGER APPLICABLE. BUT U.S. SIDE NEVER RESPONDED. IT WAS GOY'S INTENT THEN TO CLARIFY SITUATION IN ORDER TO AVOID SUCH CASES. THIS IS ONLY INSTANCE OF GOY FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO THESE OR ANY OTHER AGREEMENTS WITH U.S. GOY WORRIED WHEN WE HEARD FROM STATE DEPARTMENT THAT IT NECESSARY TO INFORM CONGRES. YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT HIGHLY APPRECIATES USG DECISION TO DO THIS ON CLASSIFIED BASIS, TO KEEP CONFIDENTIAL AND NOT TO DRAMATIZE. WE WISH TO PREVENT ADVERSE IMPACT ON OUR RELATIONS. HOWEVER, AS YOU HAVE NOTED, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO KEEP MATTER FROM SECRET

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LEAKING. IF BECOMES PUBLIC, WE WILL HAVE TO ANSWER. IT WILL NOT LEAK FROM YUGOSLAV SIDE. WE REPEAT OUR SUGGESTION THAT OUR MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES MEET AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO EXAMINE ALL ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENTS. THUS THE U.S. PROPOSALS IN REGARD TO U.S. TEAM COMING HERE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND OUR TEAM (M-44 TECHNICAL TEAM) GOING TO THE U.S. IN SEPTEMBER IS ACCEPTABLE TO US. AS FOR U.S. TEAM COMING HERE, THE SOONER THE BETTER. WE WOULD LIKE TO SETTLE THIS BEFORE KARDELJ VISIT AS WE DO NOT WANT TO BURDEN HIS TALKS WITH IT. YUGOSLAVIA NEVER VIOLATES ITS AGREEMENTS. WE ARE NOT UNDERESTIMATING OR MINIMIZING THIS CASE. BUT WE DO NOT WANT IT TO POISON THE ATMOSPHERE.

4. EMIGRE TERRORISM. MINIC THEN TURNED DISCUSSION TO TERRORISM, SAYING THAT HE DID NOT WISH THIS ISSUE TO PREVENT KARDELJ FROM DISCUSSING MAJOR WORLD PROBLEMS WHEN IN U.S. FACT TERRORISTS RELEASED ON BAIL A VERY GRAVE MATTER. SITUATION HAS GOTTEN TO POINT WHERE MUST NOW ASK WHETHER YUGOSLAV DIPLOMATS IN U.S. CAN FUNCTION NORMALLY OR WILL HAVE TO CARRY MACHINEGUNS IN SELF-DEFENSE. GOY HAS NOTED DOUBLE-STANDARD IN HANDLING OF TERRORISTS WHO HIJACKED AMERICAN PLANE,

WHERE BAIL DENIED, AND ATTACKS ON YUGOSLAVS, WHERE BAIL PERMITTED. THIS NOT MATTER OF TREATMENT OF SPECIFIC CASE BUT BROADER AND BIGGER PROBLEM -- WILL GROUPS OF TERRORISTS BE ALLOWED TO CARRY ON ACTIVITIES AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA AND AGAINST FRIENDLY U.S.-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS? STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT INDICATES YOU HAVE ADOPTED CORRECT ATTITUDE, BUT QUESTION OF IMPLEMENTATION REMAINS. WE HAVE DEEPLY ROOTED FEELING BASED ON PAST THAT THERE IS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN YOUR WORDS AND DEEDS.

5. DEPUTY SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT USG VERY CONCERNED WITH TERRORIST ACTS, THAT WE CONDEMN THEM AND ARE TAKING ALL MEASURES TO PROSECUTE THOSE INVOLVED. U.S. CONSTITUTION SEPARATES THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY
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CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

AND COURTS HAVE HEAVY BURDEN TO ESTABLISH AMOUNT OF MONEY FOR BAIL THAT ACCORDS WITH SITUATION. TERRORISTS IN THIS CASE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO ASSEMBLE THAT MONEY, THUS NOT OUT OF JAIL. (MOJSOV COMMENTED THAT PROCEDURE NOT YET FINISHED AND BAIL MAY YET BE RAISED.)
HOWEVER TERRORISM IS AN UNFORTUNATELY WIDESPREAD INTER-

NATIONAL PROBLEM. AMERICAN AMBASSADORS IN CYPRUS AND LEBANON HAVE BEEN MURDERED IN RECENT YEARS, SO WE KNOW THE PROBLEM INTIMATELY.

6. U. S. - YUGOSLAV RELATIONS AND TITO-CARTER MEETING. DEPUTY SECRETARY WENT ON TO SAY HE WISHED TO SPEAK ABOUT MANY AREAS WHERE TWO COUNTRIES COOPERATED. YUGOSLAVIA MAKING MAJOR CONTRIBUTION AS HOST FOR CSCE, WHERE U.S. WANTS DETAILED REVIEW THIS FALL OF IMPLEMENTATION AND ANALYSIS NEW PROPOSALS IN ALL THREE BASKETS. NEW ADMINISTRATION ADMIRES YUGOSLAV INITIATIVE AND LEADERSHIP IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, ONE OF THE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS OF THE 20TH CENTURY. WE VIEW WORLD IN MULTILATERAL RATHER BIPOLAR TERMS. WE ARE PARTICULARLY PLEASED TO SEE INDIA MOVE TO MORE GENUINELY
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NON-ALIGNED STATUS. PRESIDENT CARTER ATTACHES MUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, AND LOOKS FORWARD TO THE TIME WHEN THEIR MUTUAL SCHEDULES WILL PERMIT HIM TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT TITO.

7. MINIC RESPONDED THAT GOY HOPED PRESIDENTS TITO AND CARTER COULD MEET AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THEY UNDERSTOOD THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD MANY APPOINTMENTS AND THAT THIS HAD NOT SO FAR WORKED OUT. MINIC WISHED TO CONFIRM THAT PRESIDENT TITO CONTINUES TO WANT SUCH A MEETING. HE CONSIDERS IT TO BE OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPORTANCE. THUS WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER FINDS THE TIME AND THE RIGHT MOMENT, THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTRIES WILL HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN ARRANGING A MEETING. MINIC REQUESTED THAT THE DEPUTY SECRETARY CONVEY THIS MESSAGE TO SECRETARY VANCE AND THROUGH HIM TO THE PRESIDENT. MINIC WENT ON TO NOTE THAT THE GOY UNDERSTANDS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S POSITION ON NON-ALIGNED IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. MINIC HAD MADE IT A PERSONAL OBJECTIVE TO TRY TO CONVINCE SECRETARY KISSINGER -- WITHOUT SUCCESS -- THAT THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT WAS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ONE OR ANOTHER POWER, AND DEFINITELY NOT AGAINST U.S. HE STRESSED THAT THE NON-ALIGNED ARE A FACTOR FOR STABILITY. INDIA STANDS FIRMLY ON THE NON-ALIGNED PATH. IT IS YUGOSLAV ASSESSMENT THAT THE PREVIOUS INDIAN GOVERNMENT DID ALSO. WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT SOME NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES HAVE INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES AND FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS, THEY CONTINUE TO BE NON-ALIGNED BECAUSE THEY SEE NO ALTERNATIVE IN THIS COMPLEX WORLD.

8. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY NOTED THAT YUGOSLAVIA WILL BE IN THE DIPLOMATIC LIMELIGHT OVER THE NEXT TWELVE MONTHS.

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MOJSOV WILL BE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE CSCE CONFERENCE WILL BE IN BELGRADE THIS FALL (AND MINIC NOTED THAT NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL MEET HERE NEXT YEAR). THE U.S. IS MAKING AN INTENSIVE EFFORT TO BE HELPFUL IN SOVLING THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM. WE KNOW THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAS MOST SOPHISTICATED VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND WE HOPE THAT THEY TOO CAN BE HELPFUL. WE WOULD PARTICULARLY WELCOME THEIR VIEWS ON PROCEDURES FOR A CONFERENCE AND PLO PARTICIPATION.

9. MINIC RESPONDED BY AGREEING THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAD A VERY ACTIVE AND DYNAMIC FOREIGN POLICY, THAT THIS IS DESIGNED TO ENHANCE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE AS WELL AS TO CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD. IN THE MIDDLE EAST THEY ARE IN REGULAR COMMUNICATION WITH FRIENDS IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES. PRESIDENT CARTER'S PERSONAL EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT HAVE CREATED GREAT HOPES AMONG THE ARABS. BUT BEGIN'S ELECTION CAME AS A COLD SHOWER. IT WOULD BE GOOD FOR THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FEAR AND LESSENER ENTHUSIASM THIS HAS CREATED. MUCH WILL DEPEND ON THE OUTCOME OF THE BEGIN-CARTER MEETING. IF THE ARAB COUNTRIES CONCLUDE THAT THE U.S. HAS BECOME LENIENT IN THE FACE OF ISRAELI PRESSURES, THE MOMENTUM THE U.S. HAS ACHIEVED WITH ARABS WILL BE LOST. WHEN WE DISCUSS THIS ISSUE AMONG OURSELVES, WE NOTICE THE WEAKNESS IN THE U.S. POSTURE WHICH YOUR LACK OF DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE PALESTINIANS CREATES. AMONG THE PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP THERE IS A FEAR THAT A COMPROMISE WILL BE REACHED AT THEIR EXPENSE. IF YOU HAD DIRECT CONTACT YOU MIGHT CONVINCE THEM OTHERWISE, GIVE THEM GREATER CONFIDENCE AND REDUCE THEIR FEAR.

10. IN CONCLUDING, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OUTLINED FOUR AREAS IN WHICH OVER THE WEEKS AND MONTHS TO COME THE U.S. AND YUGOSLAVIA SHOULD CONCENTRATE: 1)POLITICAL -- A MORE EXTENSIVE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, NOT JUST ON BILATERAL
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SUBJECTS BUT ABOUT THE WORLD SCENE AS WELL. WE WOULD PARTICULARLY WELCOME YUGOSLAV VIEWS ON SITUATIONS WHERE THEY HAVE SPECIAL KNOWLEDGE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE HORN OF AFRICA. 2) ECONOMIC -- OUR RELATIONS ARE GOOD BUT WE HOPE WE CAN IMPROVE THEM STILL FURTHER. 3) MILITARY -- WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO, BUT WE LOOK FORWARD TO THEIR

MILITARY TEAM COMING IN SEPTEMBER. 4) MULTILATERAL FORA -- WE SEE OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION IN MULTILATERAL FORA, PARTICULARLY WITH MOJSOV AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNGA THIS FALL.

11. MINIC AGREED WITH THESE FOUR PRIORITIES AND ADDED A FIFTH -- NORTH-SOUTH/ECONOMIC RELATIONS. THE PARIS CONFERENCE HAD TAKEN A SMALL STEP FORWARD, BUT YUGOSLAVIA STILL DID NOT SEE A CLEAR PATH OUT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION.

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR SECTION INFO

EXDIS

(MOJSOV LATER NOTED, IN RESPONSE TO CHRISTOPHER QUESTTON, THAT VENEZUELAN PRESIDENT PEREZ' SUGGESTION THAT 30-40 COUNTRIES IN THE U.N. BE CONSTITUTED AS A GROUP TO CONSIDER NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES MIGHT HAVE MERIT, BUT THE PROBLEM IS WHETHER THE SOVIETS, EASTERN EUROPEANS AND CHINESE WOULD PARTICIPATE. ECOSOC HAD A BAD REPUTATION AND WOULD NOT SERVE FOR THE PURPOSE. WE MIGHT, MOJSOV SAID, FINALLY HAVE TO COME BACK TO SOMETHING LIKE CIEC, UNDER ANOTHER NAME.) YUGOSLAVIA WISHES, MINIC SAID, AN EXHAUSTIVE DIALOGUE WITH THE UNITED STATES ON THIS AND OTHER AREAS. IT WANTS TO RAISE OUR COOPERATION TO HIGHER LEVELS. THIS IS NOT JUST TO PRESERVE YUGOSLAV INDEPENDENCE BUT ALSO FOR THE INTERNAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT -- THUS IT IS A LONG-TERM STRATEGY. ON THE HORN OF AFRICA, YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN TRYING FOR TWO YEARS TO INFLUENCE ETHIOPIA BUT THE SITUATION THERE IS EXTREMELY GRAVE. (MOJSOV LATER NOTED THAT THE SITUATION HAD DETERIORATED

TO A POINT WHERE IT NOW APPEARED NO POLITICAL SOLUTION WAS POSSIBLE.)

12. NUCLEAR MATTERS. ON KRSKO MOJSOV STATED THAT GOY IS SECRET

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PREPARED TO MEET WITH U.S. TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM OF FUEL AND TO SETTLE THIS ON THE BASIS OF A BILATERAL AGREEMENT, BUT THEY FELT A NEW INTERNATIONAL REGIME ALSO WAS NEEDED. KARDELJ WILL BE THOROUGHLY PREPARED TO DISCUSS THIS PROBLEM. FSFA ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERNARDIC SAID THAT THE YUGOSLAV ANSWER ON INFCEP WILL BE POSITIVE, BUT THAT DUE TO THE DEATH OF THEIR KEY MAN (KRIVOKAPIC) THERE HAS BEEN SOME DELAY IN DRAFTING A RESPONSE ON ALL THE DETAILED U.S. PROPOSALS.

13. DEPUTY SECRETARY STRESSED THE NEED TO USE A TWO-TRACK APPROACH. IF WE POSTPONE OUR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON FUEL SUPPLY FOR KRSKO TO AWAIT MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FUEL CYCLE, WE COULD CREATE PROBLEMS IN OUR RELATIONS, AS THE LATTER MAY TAKE SOME YEARS TO COMPLETE. WE MUST MOVE AHEAD ON BOTH FRONTS. MOJSOV AGREED, AND SAID IT WAS YUGOSLAV UNDERSTANDING THAT THE INITIATIVE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON KRSKO WOULD COME FROM THE U.S. SIDE.
EAGLEBURGER

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